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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Y'enama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Y'enama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

trifles because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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591 and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work
• 342 for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually
476 slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the cen-
[351] tral post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young
married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a
[593] site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and
share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since
the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man
usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime.
[688] Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapi-
dated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of
their sons.

885 Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma
781 adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adoles-
[224] cence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous
animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt
them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the
warnings issued during the previous periods of his life con-
cerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

885 As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *mar-*
156 *salai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains
794 enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he
796 shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at
554 one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong
beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows prom-
ise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked
to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the
initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into
the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at
this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, dif-
fering only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia.
Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both
of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the
marsalai, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and
feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers. The roofing material is split limbom palm spathes. The construction is that used by the Kwoma in making bush houses, permanent dwellings having an enclosed room and sewn shingles. See Chapter VI, pages 129–130.

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Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk, with a finish/ as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday construction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed an outhouse for us.

342 Nemb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Nemb is now making a bed. The uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles to the slats. Nemb is very proud of his house and considers it quite superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[183] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a 353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door 342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them. [592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys [513] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of [354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet [262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made [415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half [412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears 000

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534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mas, and Gwiyep helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwata wbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this,
the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in
[311] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him
coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was.
War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned.
War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--
Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road
to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two
center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there
were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two
were put on in other directions and all four tied.

600 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking
ground. Mar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May
says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man".
Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambankurs came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They
had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of
the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were
responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on
Mamoy to fight, but Mamoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
123 685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke im nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

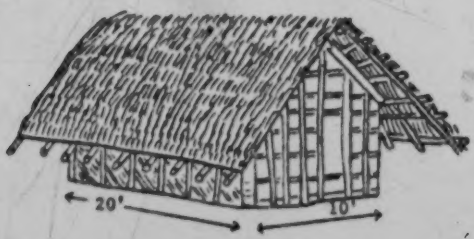
I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

342 [428] [423] [372] Houses are not permanent enough to be important in inheritance. If a man dies, the remainder of the family lives in his house until it falls down or begins to leak. The house, however, is considered to be the property of the male children. A house may last ten years, and is abandoned when it falls apart. The available timber is used for other purposes-- firewood, for example.

343 342 The figure below illustrates a house for storing yams and taro (kayakí) but is identical in construction to a dwelling house.



There are two central posts at either end of the outside room. The roof overhangs in either direction. The construction is identical to the room of a dwelling house. The porches are extended from this frame.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

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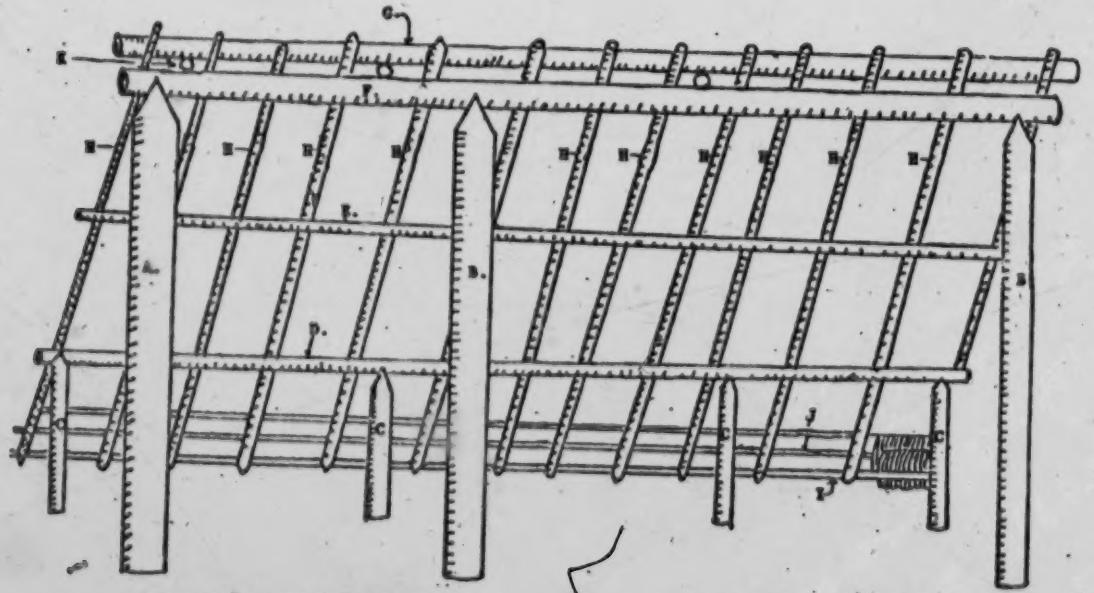
Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumarɨ -- main central post
B. wɔ̃ndɨ kwatɨ--subsidiary central posts
C. tafɨ fayɨ-- side posts
D. akɨ fayɨ--plate
E. akɨ jirɨ--stringer
F. akɨ towɨ--ridgepole
G. yi towɨ-- binder
H. ya yemi--rafters
I. suku nyungeyɨ--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ngɔ̃yɨ-- runners to hold shingles
K. akɨ warunkɨ-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

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[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceeding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

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1. Two nǫ̃ndɨ́ kwatɨ́ (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (wǫ̃ndɨ́ kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafɨ́ tompɨ́ (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akɨ́ fayɨ́ (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafɨ́ tompɨ́ (c) (sideposts) to the akɨ́ fayɨ́ (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nǫ̃ndɨ́ kwatɨ́ (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. Akɨ́ towɨ́ (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (akawɨ́). The smaller ridgepole extension (yi tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yayemɨ́ (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (see figure below)

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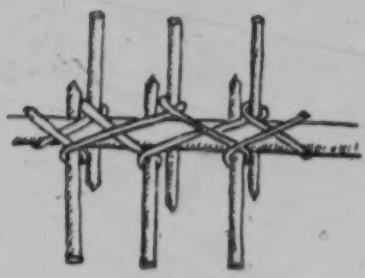
Method for binding rafters to ridgepole

[284]



Kwas sig, a room in which carved wooden images (sunilwas) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maretta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Akí jirí (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Akí warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi towí (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofé) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house temberans

342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an

[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

342 193 [284] ngngwf yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akf ns (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akfwoyf ns, in the ground and lashing them to akf foyf (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niene, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the ouaside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (nomporirif) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [35] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.